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Slovakia

I. Activities During Program

IRI's recently completed Slovakia program was designed to follow on previous IRI programming in the country, by focusing on improving communications through the use of public opinion research and consultations. In contrast to previous IRI programs, which had used political parties and youth political organizations as the primary partners for public opinion research, this grant was directed at the Slovak government. The September 1998 parliamentary elections produced a broad, four-party coalition government, which declared its intentions to pursue major reforms in a variety of areas. In its initial year, however, the new government's ability to enact reform policies was hampered by a poor communications policy and internal wrangling among the coalition partners.

While these partisan squabbles continued throughout the program, and indeed, continue to this day, the government did undertake a number of measures designed to improve its communication policies.

IRI developed a workplan that included two national public opinion polls and a series of focus groups, to be conducted by a reputable independent polling agency. This research was supplemented by consultations by IRI's resident program officer, who has resided in Slovakia since 1995 and has established long-term working relationships with many of the key officials and staff in the new Slovak government. As with previous IRI polling projects in Slovakia, the results from the research were not publicized. Rather, they were viewed as a tool to help Slovak policy-makers develop more effective and consistent communications practices.

Through careful financial management and cost-sharing with IRI's NED-funded regional program for Central and Eastern Europe, which is also located in Bratislava, IRI was able to stretch the AID grant to fund a third public opinion poll with the resources provided. After consultations with government representatives, IRI commissioned a survey of Slovak youth, a key demographic group in the coalition's 1998 electoral victory. Under previous AID funding, IRI commissioned two groundbreaking public opinion polls of 18-25 year old Slovaks, along with a series of youth focus groups. These polls provided crucial insight into the 1998 campaign. IRI's new youth poll was the first such exercise

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undertaken in Slovakia since its 1998 youth polls, thus the findings were invaluable to Slovak political leaders.

Each of the polls was prepared in consultation with Slovak government communications and policy officials. In each case, the primary points-of-contact for IRI were the prime minister's chief of staff and the director of communications of the government office. The spokespersons for the prime minister and the government were also consulted on key questions and provided with results. IRI, in cooperation with the Slovak polling firm, FOCUS, developed draft questionnaires for the polls and focus groups. These drafts served as a point of departure for consultations with the abovementioned officials of the Slovak government, who were encouraged to (and did, in fact) provide additional questions and themes for the survey work. Government officials also worked with IRI and FOCUS to fine tune the questionnaires to better address concerns and issues before the government.

The first public opinion poll was conducted in February 2000 and examined public attitudes on a number of key political, policy, and personnel issues. The survey was fielded from February 2 to 15, 2000, with a sample size of 1,077 respondents. The poll results are representative of the population as a whole with respect to key demographic characteristics, such as age, sex, ethnicity, and region of residence. Following the poll, IRI's resident program officer met with government officials to discuss the poll results and suggest areas where the government might improve its methods. (English versions of the poll results are attached as appendices.)

The second poll was fielded from May 3 to 11, 2000, with a sample size of 1,097 respondents. This poll examined many of the same issues explored in the February survey, but also included a number of new themes and issues which had arisen in the interim months.

After reviewing program expenditures, IRI determined that it had sufficient resources to conduct a third poll before the conclusion of the program. IRI consulted with government officials and decided that the most effective use of the remaining funds would be to conduct a youth survey. The youth poll was fielded in late June with a sample size of 709 respondents.

The second main component of the program was a series of focus groups to help develop a communications strategy for a key government reform initiative. After consultations with government officials, IRI decided to direct the focus group research toward the government's planned administrative reform initiative, which involves a transfer of authorities to new regional and local governments, a consolidation of government offices, the establishment of new, intermediate regional governments, and changes to the civil service. This initiative was chosen for several reasons. First, the government had pledged to begin action on the program during the period of the grant. Second, the initiative is key to the government's ambitions for European integration, and thus a priority for the coalition. Third, the government designated Viktor Niznansky to

shepherd the administrative reform initiative. IRI has a close and long-term working relationship with Mr. Niznansky.

As noted above, the administrative reform initiative has proceeded more slowly than originally anticipated. Therefore, IRI's focus groups were pushed back until May, to accommodate delays and changes in the government's concept. A series of six focus groups were held across Slovakia from May 3 to 17, 2000. Two focus groups were held in small communities – i.e., those with populations of 2,000-5,000 inhabitants; three in medium sized communities (with populations of 5,000-20,000 inhabitants); and one in a larger city (with a population of 20,000-50,000 inhabitants). Focus groups were held in five of the eight current Slovak administrative regions and participants were made up of “opinion leaders” at the local level – mayors, city council members, leaders of non-governmental organizations, local representatives of state agencies, and journalists. The elected officials came from across the political spectrum and included representatives of the Slovak Democratic Coalition (and its component parties), the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Party of the Democratic Left, the Party of the Hungarian Coalition, as well as independents.

After consultations with IRI and Mr. Niznansky, FOCUS developed a scenario for the focus groups which examined a number of questions grouped under four key themes:

- How informed participants were about the principles of decentralizing administration
- Positive and negative expectations about administrative reform
- The transfer of powers and revenues from the state to lower level governments
- Selected principles of the government's administrative reform program and modernization of public administration.

The FOCUS agency produced a detailed summary and analysis of the focus groups, which was provided to Mr. Niznansky and other government officials. FOCUS also made available transcripts of the discussions, along with consultations on the focus groups.

Throughout the program, IRI's resident program officer met regularly with key Slovak government officials and political party leaders during the period to share polling information and provide informal advice on communications efforts. One example discussed in the interim report provided to AID was at the Foreign Ministry, where IRI advised the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Jan Figel, on a planned communications and public relations effort to build Slovak public support for integration into the European Union and NATO.

II. Issues, Problems, and Recommendations

As noted above, the focus group component of the program was delayed beyond the intended start-up date. However, all work outlined in the workplan, plus the additional youth poll was completed.

III. Obligations and Expenditures

See attached budget summary.

IV. Evaluation

Result 1 The new Slovak government develops a consistent, integrated, and positive communications strategy.

Although the Dzurinda government continues to face criticism in the press and is battling low popularity with the electorate, it has greatly improved its communications and outreach activities. While the government has had some significant achievements in the economic and foreign policy arenas, it continues to be damaged by negative media coverage and low public support. Most of the government's current problems with the public and press can be attributed to two causes: party issues and the economic situation.

In one sense, the government's problems with partisanship and conflicts among members of the government were preordained. On paper, the government coalition in Slovakia is composed of four parties: Dzurinda's Slovak Democratic Coalition (SDK), the former communist Party of the Democratic Left (SDL), the new center-left Party of Civic Understanding (SOP), and the Party of the Hungarian Coalition (SMK), which represents the country's largest and most cohesive ethnic minority. In reality, however, there are many more parties and factions in the government. The SDK is the best example of this phenomenon, as it is a formal election coalition among five parties (and includes a single member of parliament from a sixth). Since the 1998 elections, the SDK has been rocked by a series of struggles between the prime minister and his allies, who favor maintaining a single center-right party, and leaders of the five "mother" parties, who insist on safeguarding the constituent parties. This struggle came to a head when the prime minister and a number of his cabinet members announced they would create a new party for the 2002 elections, the Slovak Democratic and Christian Union. To say the least, these discussions and arguments have been exhaustively covered by the media and have been largely responsible for creating an image of a government which is deeply divided and more concerned about partisan issues than the public's problems.

The SDK is hardly the only government party with internal divisions, though. The second largest government party, the SDL, had a bitter battle for its chairmanship and was clearly divided into two factions. The first, loyal to the party chairman, Jozef Migas, was horrified by the party's descent in the polls and moved towards increasingly radical and independent stances. This culminated in a parliamentary no-confidence motion that was supported by Mr. Migas and some of his allies. The second faction, led by several ministers, has adopted a more moderate approach and been more outspoken in its support for the government and its program. Given that Mr. Migas recently won reelection as party chairman, the SDL will almost certainly be a cause of continuing dissent within the government in the future.

The second main factor in the government's poor public image relates to the state of the Slovak economy. Almost immediately after assuming power, the Dzurinda government discovered that the state was deeply in debt and had signed numerous sweetheart deals under the prior Meciar government. Over the last two years, the government adopted an austerity plan that included drastic cuts in subsidies, substantial tax increases, and other unpopular measures. Unemployment remains extremely high in Slovakia and the economic situation remains the primary cause of the government's unpopularity. Over the last few months however, economists are seeing the beginnings of a recovery and most believe that the economy will be much healthier and more sustainable over the long term with the government's economic reform policies in place.

But in addition to the largely uncontrollable factors of party divisions and the economic situation, the Dzurinda government had no coherent communications strategy during its first year in office. Over the last year, it has begun to implement policies to communicate more effectively and to present its accomplishments in a more favorable light.

As reported in the interim report, among other issues, IRI's resident program officer had repeatedly discussed the importance and benefit of regional travel with the prime minister's chief of staff. IRI's February survey showed clearly that most Slovaks viewed their government as out of touch. Nearly two-thirds of those surveyed believed that politicians did not travel enough outside the capital to the regions. Some eighty percent stated that the government did not care about the problems of average citizens. And sixty percent felt that the government did not adequately inform the public about its decisions and activities.

IRI recommended that the prime minister and other government officials make a regular commitment to travel within the country. While the prime minister and other officials have spent a great deal of time outside Slovakia since assuming office, they were traveling domestically much less than the Meciar government.¹ IRI specifically recommended that the Dzurinda government conduct regular cabinet meetings outside the capital. In addition to the cabinet meetings, the prime minister, ministers, and other officials should use these regional trips for other opportunities to meet with and listen to the public, such as local government meetings, local press interviews, factory and school visits, and so on. During the period, the Dzurinda government began holding cabinet meetings outside Bratislava. The trip to the Presov region in eastern Slovakia was very successful, in that it received substantial media attention in a key part of the country. Following the Presov meeting, the prime minister's office decided that at least one cabinet meeting every other month would be held outside Bratislava. These meetings have continued in the ensuing months.

¹ This is not to say that the international travel was all unnecessary. In fact, one of the main achievements of the Dzurinda government was returning Slovakia to the international stage, after a period of isolation under Meciar. However, the international travel was undertaken at the expense of domestic travel, and not in addition to it.

IRI also stressed the importance of associating the prime minister with positive economic news, given that the overall economic picture was quite negative. The government had reversed the Meciar government's lukewarm attitude toward foreign investment and had enacted policy changes and aggressively sought foreign investment during the prime minister's overseas travel. However, this message had not been clearly communicated domestically. IRI suggested that it was key that the prime minister be seen to be personally working to address the country's most pressing problem – unemployment and job creation. During the period, the prime minister made a point of attending several groundbreaking ceremonies for new foreign and domestic investments.

Perhaps the best example of a more coordinated approach to media and communications outreach was the case of a major foreign investment deal, where US Steel is buying a stake in the VSZ steelworks Slovakia's largest employer. The VSZ case was of critical importance to the government on a number of fronts. First, it was one of the more egregious cases of "mis-privatization" during the Meciar years. Second, it is the country's largest exporter and absolutely critical to the economic fortunes of eastern Slovakia and the country's second-largest city, Kosice. Third, it was a chance for the Dzurinda government to demonstrate that it had reoriented Slovakia toward foreign investment and economic integration.

The prime minister assumed an active personal role throughout the negotiation process, traveling to the US to meet with US Steel officials, mediating disputes, and insuring that the deal went through. He was thus able to capitalize on the announcement that the stakeholding had been agreed, showing him to be personally engaged in efforts to improve the country's economic situation and guarantee stable employment for tens of thousands of workers.

The government also gained considerable mileage out of the recent announcement that Slovakia had been accepted as a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Joining the OECD was a major goal for the Dzurinda government, which was committed to ending the international isolation imposed on the country during the Meciar years. While the process was lengthy, when the decision to admit Slovakia was finally made, the government capitalized on the event. Senior government officials from the prime minister on down, issued coordinated, positive statements about the event. They discussed the news in such a way as to clearly link it with economic prosperity and a better future for the public and reminded voters directly, that it was a key point in the government's agenda. Even the opposition, which was largely responsible for Slovakia's being ostracized was forced to grudgingly concede to the government's success.

The example of the OECD showed that the government had the ability to act in a disciplined, coordinated manner on a communications initiative. This was in sharp contrast to press coverage surrounding adoption of economic austerity measures in January 1999. While clearly the OECD news is far more positive and easy to deliver, the presentation of the government's austerity package was badly mishandled, with the Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister for Economic Affairs carrying on a weeks-

long public debate over the merits of the package. By lacking a common message and focusing on their differences, the government managed to increase opposition to the necessary package of reforms. This in turn delayed their implementation, forcing the government to adopt a second package several months later.

However, IRI's youth poll showed that the government has failed to effectively reach young Slovaks. In the 1998 elections, first-time voters were key to the current coalition government's victory. Using data gathered by IRI's two youth polls during the campaign, pro-reform parties managed to appeal directly to young voters, by addressing their concerns in a serious matter and by promoting young candidates. In no small part, the mandate of the Dzurinda government was bestowed by Slovak youth. The most recent youth poll, however, delivers an extremely damning verdict on the government.

While young voters do give the government credit for improving Slovakia's international position and note some positive change in areas such as crime, for the most part, the findings are quite negative. In some cases, young Slovaks do not recognize success on the part of the government. Youth rates the lack of housing as one of their top priorities. The government has, in fact, delivered on its promise to greatly increase the construction of apartments since it took office. But the poll documents that young people are unaware of this development.

More troublesome, the government parties appear to have squandered the good will they earned during the campaign. Young Slovaks now see little or no difference between the government and opposition on many issues. While as in the general polls, current economic dissatisfaction colors the results, it is also clear that the coalition has failed to maintain a dialogue and the trust of young voters.

In the next parliamentary elections, scheduled for 2002, voters under 35 will again be a decisive constituency. IRI's poll, however, shows that many of them are disillusioned with politics altogether. This survey provides evidence that the government needs to begin to address youth concerns as a serious matter immediately. Failure to do so can have very harsh electoral consequences.

Result 2 The new Slovak government improves coordination of internal message development and the dissemination process.

Over the course of the program, the government has made certain structural changes within the government office (the executive staff working for the prime minister). During its first year, the Dzurinda government used a split system of spokespersons, with no one individual with overall responsibility for communications policy. In addition, each minister, deputy prime minister, and various agencies had their own spokespersons. Moreover, each of the parties in the government and parliamentary clubs also had their own communications strategies.² Predictably, this meant that a variety of conflicting

² There are four parties in the Slovak government: the Party of the Democratic Left, the Party of the Hungarian Coalition, the Party of Civic Understanding, and the Slovak Democratic Coalition. However, the prime minister's Slovak Democratic Coalition is, as its name implies, a coalition of five parties.

messages were frequently heard in the media. Party leaders and government officials did not hesitate to publicly air their differences with one another's policies, and in many cases, their personal disagreements.

In early 2000, the government office moved to address this problem, by bringing in a new government Director of Communications, recruited from a prominent Slovak think tank. The prime minister's spokesman, the cabinet spokeswoman, government polling efforts, and other government office communications officials now report directly to the same individual, allowing for better coordination of message. The new communications director is also charged with coordinating with ministry and agency press officials.

Subsequently, an individual was designated within the government office with the sole responsibility of coordinating regional outreach. This position is primarily charged with planning and arranging the prime minister's increasingly frequent trips outside Bratislava.

Government communications officials also faced difficulty, in that much of the support staff was inherited from the Meciar government. These individuals, who are state bureaucrats, showed little inclination to accommodate a new government or change their work habits. The prime minister's spokesman has publicly discussed how difficult it was to retrain, or in some cases, rid the government of these long-term employees.

The prime minister's personal spokesman also left the government several weeks ago. At least during the interim period, and perhaps on an ongoing basis, the government spokeswoman has done double-duty. By serving as the main point-of-contact for the media with both the cabinet and the prime minister personally, this has inevitably led to a more coordinated and smooth delivery of news. The prime minister's spokesman had some conflicts with other staff members and had seen his credibility somewhat tarnished in the eyes of the media, so on balance, his departure has been a positive development for the government's communications efforts.

Recent press reports have indicated that the government is weighing further consolidation of its communications apparatus, by eliminating a quasi-independent agency, the Center for Media Policy. This agency, ostensibly responsible for some aspects of media monitoring and polling, has been of questionable worth to the government because the government office directly does its own media monitoring and a separate state agency has traditionally conducted polling. If the government does act to eliminate the Center for Media Policy in the 2001 budget, it will be another sign that the government has a more thoughtful and comprehensive communications strategy.

Result 3 The new Slovak government incorporates public opinion data and communications management into its processes of public policy and message development.

Moreover, a sixth party was formed out of the Slovak Democratic Coalition, the new Slovak Democratic and Christian Union. Therefore, 10 parties were technically part of the government – each of which had its own press and communications efforts.

The government is making better use of polling data and other tools in formulating a pro-active communications policy. Throughout the project, the results of IRI's polls were eagerly awaited and carefully studied by government officials and staff.

On at least some issues, the government has developed and implemented communications plans. Several key government priorities, mainly in the foreign affairs area, are the best examples of this development. For instance, the government is engaged in an active long-term campaign on the issue of Slovak membership in NATO. This campaign includes both a domestic component (convincing Slovaks of the merits of joining the alliance) and an international component (convincing NATO member governments and opinion leaders of the merits of Slovakia's candidacy). Polling data, including that gathered by the various IRI polls, has been a vital part of developing these campaigns.

In the case of the government's administrative reform project, polling data has also been useful in helping to determine a communications strategy. The government has instituted a large program designed to win support for the proposal, which includes targeting the key demographic groups included in IRI's focus groups: local government officials, journalists, and leaders of various non-governmental organizations.

While it would be incorrect to say that the Slovak government uses polls in the same manner as does, say, the US or British government, considerable progress has been made in terms of demonstrating the desirability and utility of incorporating public opinion into communications and policy development.

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Appendix One

February 2000 Omnibus Poll

This public opinion poll was conducted by the FOCUS agency on behalf of the International Republican Institute. The poll was fielded from February 2-15, 2000, with a sample size of 1,077 respondents. The sample was chosen by the quota method, and is representative of the population as a whole with respect to age, sex, ethnicity, occupation, and level of education.

The poll is part of IRI's program in Slovakia to assist the government in improving communications with the public. IRI's activities in Slovakia are funded by the US Agency for International Development.

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Poll Results

All results in tables are presented in percentages

Sample size = 1077

Dates of fielding: 2.2 – 15.2.2000

Our society is going through many changes and faces many problems. Please tell me, in your opinion, which three current problems are the most important.

Unemployment	71,5
Standard of living	49,7
Health care	28,8
The Slovak economy	27,9
Crime	23,8
Arguments among politicians, unprofessionalism of politicians, political scandals	15,7
Schools and education	9,5
Corruption and clientelism	14,1
Housing	8,3
Interpersonal relations, ethics and morality	4,0
Problems of ethnic minorities	3,0
Privatization	1,2
Drugs and alcohol	1,7
The environment	0,2
Courts and the legal system	3,5
Other (public transport, problems of youth, culture, media)	2,2
Don't know/refused	1,5

In your opinion, Slovak society is currently heading...

Totally in the right direction	1,4
Mostly in the right direction	23,3
Mostly in the wrong direction	42,9
Totally in the wrong direction	25,4
Don't know	7,0

Please tell me to what degree you trust the following institutions:

	1=totally trust	2=mostly trust	3=mostly mistrust	4=totally mistrust	9=don't know
National Council (parliament)	1,6	27,5	43,0	22,4	5,6

Prime Minister	4,2	28,1	33,1	31,7	3,0
Constitutional Court	5,7	34,3	30,5	18,4	11,2
President	13,3	47,4	23,3	12,5	3,5
The government	2,6	27,8	35,8	31,0	2,8
European Union	11,4	38,9	18,2	16,4	15,0
NATO	7,4	25,3	22,0	26,1	19,2

In your opinion, how have things changed in the following areas since the government of Mikulas Dzurinda took office in 1998?

dramatically improved
somewhat improved
about the same
somewhat worsened
dramatically improved
don't know/can't say

	1	2	3	4	5	9
Slovakia's international position	19,4	35,0	22,3	9,7	5,3	8,4
The Slovak economy	0,6	7,1	20,3	36,5	32,0	3,4
Rule of law	1,9	14,2	33,6	26,6	14,7	9,0
Relations between Slovaks and the Hungarian minority	4,0	20,7	42,9	15,2	6,3	10,9
Standard of living	0,2	1,4	12,3	38,0	47,2	0,9
Freedom of the press and media	4,9	23,6	47,6	6,4	3,2	14,3
Protecting citizens from crime	0,3	8,9	40,0	31,2	16,1	3,5
Relations among politicians from various parties	0,2	5,3	28,8	31,8	26,9	7,0
Respecting human rights	1,9	15,4	40,1	17,6	8,4	16,5

We're interested in your opinion on people in public life. Please tell us which politician in Slovakia you view most favorably. (Please give only one name.)

V. Meciar	16,0
R. Fico	14,8
B. Bugar	6,7
M. Dzurinda	6,1
R. Schuster	5,8
A. Malikova	4,5
I. Miklos	3,4
E. Kukan	3,2
I. Gasparovic	2,1
P. Weiss	1,8
I. Mjartan	1,4
J. Slota	1,1
None	18,1
Don't know	4,4

And which politician in Slovakia do you view least favorably? (Please give only one name.)

V. Meciar	22,4
M. Dzurinda	20,2
J. Carnogursky	12,3
J. Slota	4,5
B. Bugar	4,2
J. Migas	3,6
B. Schmognerova	3,6
J. Cuper	2,5
A. Malikova	1,9
M. Huska	1,1
I. Miklos	1,1
None	6,5
Don't know	6,9

If parliamentary elections were held this weekend, for which party or movement would you vote?

	% all respondents N=1077	% voters N=785
HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia)	21,5	29,6
SMER ("Direction")	12,3	16,8
SMK (Party of the Hungarian Coalition)	8,9	12,2
SNS (Slovak National Party)	6,4	8,8
SDL (Party of the Democratic Left)	5,2	7,1
SOP (Party of Civic Understanding)	3,3	4,6
KDH (Christian Democratic Movement)	3,0	4,1
KSS (Communist Party of Slovakia)	2,7	3,7
DU (Democratic Union)	2,7	3,7
DS (Democratic Party)	2,6	3,6
ZRS (Association of Slovak Workers)	0,9	1,3
SZS (Green Party in Slovakia)	0,6	0,9
SDSS (Social Democratic Party of Slovakia)	0,3	0,4
Other party	2,4	3,3
Would not vote	13,5	-
Refused	2,3	-
Don't know/undecided	11,3	-

If parliamentary elections were held this weekend, and the following parties were running, for which party would you vote?

	% all respondents N=1077	% voters N=789
HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia)	21,4	29,2
SMER ("Direction")	12,9	17,6
SMK (Party of the Hungarian Coalition)	8,7	11,9
SNS (Slovak National Party)	6,3	8,6
SDKU (Slovak Democratic and Christian Union)	4,6	6,3
SDL (Party of the Democratic Left)	4,5	6,2
SOP (Party of Civic Understanding)	3,1	4,2
KDH (Christian Democratic Movement)	3,1	4,2
KSS (Communist Party of Slovakia)	2,6	3,5
DU (Democratic Union)	2,1	2,9
DS (Democratic Party)	1,9	2,7
ZRS (Association of Slovak Workers)	0,6	0,9
Other	0,6	0,9
SZS (Green Party in Slovakia)	0,4	0,5
SDSS (Social Democratic Party of Slovakia)	0,3	0,4

Wouldn't vote	13,7	-
Refused	2,3	-
Don't know	10,7	-

Please tell me to what degree you support the following foreign policy goals of Slovakia?

	Joining the European Union	Joining NATO
Strongly agree	30,8	14,6
Somewhat agree	34,7	23,6
Somewhat disagree	13,7	21,3
Strongly disagree	9,3	25,2
Don't know/can't say	11,4	15,4

In your view, what would Slovakia *gain* by joining NATO? (Open question, respondents could provide up to two answers.)

Increased security, international protection, guarantees of security	22,1
International recognition	7,5
Professionalization and improvement of the army	5,6
Economic advantages, job creation, improved standard of living	5,8
Other	1,6
Nothing	31,8
Don't know/can't say	28,1

And in your view, what would Slovakia *lose* by joining NATO? (Open question, respondents could provide up to two answers).

Independence, sovereignty, loss of identity, "being taken over by Americans"	22,7
Money, increased government expenditures	13,2
Other	7,0
Nothing	22,9
Don't know/can't say	36,9

Recently, Prime Minister Dzurinda and other politicians announced their intentions to found a new political party – the Slovak Democratic and Christian Union -- SDKU. Can you tell us if you would support this party if it runs in the next parliamentary elections?

Definitely support	4,5
Probably support	8,7
Probably not support	17,6
Definitely not support	53,9
Don't know	15,3

Please tell us to what degree you view the following political parties favorably or unfavorably:

very favorably
 somewhat favorably
 somewhat unfavorably
 very unfavorably
 knows the party, but can't evaluate it
 doesn't know the party at all
 8. refused

	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
Democratic Party – DS	4,0	26,6	25,3	10,9	22,2	7,7	3,3
Democratic Union – DU	2,7	27,8	27,0	12,0	20,6	6,9	3,1
Movement for a Democratic Slovakia - HZDS	20,1	18,8	19,3	35,3	3,8	0,3	2,4
Christian Democratic Movement - KDH	4,0	15,2	34,8	36,8	6,1	0,9	2,1
Slovak Democratic Coalition - SDK	5,9	30,7	26,7	25,2	8,0	0,8	2,6
Slovak National Party– SNS	11,1	32,1	24,4	21,5	7,2	1,0	2,5
SMER	14,0	26,6	8,4	4,7	19,0	24,0	3,1
Party of the Democratic Left – SDL	4,3	33,1	34,0	13,9	9,8	1,6	3,2
Party of the Hungarian Coalition -- SMK	8,0	17,5	25,8	34,7	9,6	1,5	3,0
Party of Civic Understanding - SOP	4,6	33,1	29,2	13,9	13,4	2,5	3,3
Slovak Democratic and Christian Union - SDKU	3,7	9,8	14,5	23,1	23,7	20,3	4,8

Overall, how do you grade the current government coalition (SDK, SDL, SMK, SOP)?
 Please use the same scale used in school, from one to five.

1	1,3
2	11,4
3	32,9
4	27,7
5	22,7
9. don't know	4,1

And how do you grade the parliamentary opposition (HZDS, SNS) overall? Please use the same scale used in school, from one to five.

1	8,6
2	14,9
3	24,9
4	23,1
5	22,5
9. don't know	5,9

Please tell me to what degree you agree or disagree with the following statements about the current Slovak government:

- 1= strongly agree
- 2= somewhat agree
- 3= somewhat disagree
- 4= strongly disagree
- 9= don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
The government cares about the problems of people like me.	1,5	14,4	32,6	49,3	2,2
The government has good economic policies, which will bring prosperity to Slovakia.	2,1	19,4	30,4	37,9	10,2
The government spends too much time on foreign policy, at the expense of the domestic problems of Slovakia.	25,1	36,5	18,5	5,8	14,2
The government adequately informs citizens about its actions and decisions.	2,4	23,8	39,6	23,0	11,2
The government defends the national interests of the Slovak Republic.	5,3	26,3	28,5	17,9	22,0
Members of the government only take care of themselves.	47,2	29,4	14,4	1,9	7,1

Lately, there's been a lot of talk about arguments and conflicts in the government coalition. In your view, which of the government parties is most responsible for causing these conflicts? (Respondents could give multiple answers.)

SMK – Party of the Hungarian Coalition	21,8
SDL – Party of the Democratic Left	18,6
SOP – Party of Civic Understanding	2,2
SDK – Slovak Democratic Coalition	14,5
KDH – Christian Democratic Movement	33,8
DS – Democratic Party	2,3
DU – Democratic Union	1,4
SDSS – Social Democratic Party of Slovakia	0,0
SZS – Green Party in Slovakia	0,1
All the same	3,3
None, there are no conflicts	2,7
Don't know/refused	32,0

On the card, there is a list of characteristics and traits of people. Please choose the three characteristics or traits that make you view a politician favorably.

Knowing people's problems	54,5
Thinking about the Slovak nation	33,4
Using common sense	29,1
Being decisive	22,0
Knowing how to acknowledge mistakes	19,9
Being truthful	18,2
Being educated	17,5
Being moral	16,9
Being fair	14,9
Respecting political partners	14,7
Being a sound partner for foreigners	10,7
Knowing when to make concessions	10,7
Behaving politely	10,0
Having managerial skills	8,3
Speaking foreign languages	4,5
Having a good heart	4,5
Being a good Christian	3,1
Having a sense of humor	1,2
Having a sound family life	0,6
Being a sportsman	0,3
Don't know	0,9

And what characteristics or traits does Prime Minister Dzurinda have? I will read you a list of characteristics, and for each, please tell me to whether or not they are typical for Mikulas Dzurinda.

1= definitely yes
 2= mostly yes
 3= mostly no
 4= definitely no
 9= don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
Knows people's problems	10,3	35,6	28,5	17,3	8,4
Is fair	5,8	29,1	29,6	18,6	16,9
Is a sound partner for foreigners	18,5	42,2	18,0	9,2	12,2
Acknowledges his mistakes	5,1	25,0	30,3	16,7	22,9
Is decisive	5,4	22,7	40,3	21,1	10,6
Speaks foreign languages	13,2	24,0	5,0	3,1	54,8
Has managerial skills	4,5	23,0	24,5	12,9	35,1
Thinks about the Slovak nation	9,7	36,4	21,6	21,4	10,9
Behaves politely	23,9	49,2	11,2	7,2	8,4
Is educated	24,3	41,2	7,7	3,8	22,9
Is a sportsman	61,1	29,9	1,4	0,5	7,1
Is truthful	5,7	23,7	27,8	17,6	25,3
Has a good heart	7,9	27,2	13,4	9,8	41,7
Knows when to make concessions	6,2	28,7	25,2	12,1	27,9
Is a good Christian	10,8	25,3	8,8	5,5	49,6
Has common sense	7,4	32,7	23,3	17,3	19,3
Is respected by political partners	4,4	27,0	34,6	15,5	18,5
Has a sound family life	18,0	28,6	1,0	0,9	51,4
Has a sense of humor	13,8	36,9	11,0	3,2	35,0
Is moral	12,3	32,9	11,7	9,1	34,1

Please tell me to what degree you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- 1= strongly agree
 2= somewhat agree
 3= somewhat disagree
 4= strongly disagree
 9= don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
Politicians only argue and don't think about the interests of citizens	55,1	32,2	10,0	0,9	1,8
Average Slovaks fear for their future.	77,2	19,2	2,3	0,1	1,2
Reforming public administration will improve life in the regions of Slovakia	6,6	19,8	24,6	14,4	34,6
Corruption and bribery are serious problems in Slovakia	78,1	18,4	0,7	0,3	2,5
Politicians don't travel much to the regions.	30,7	34,9	13,3	2,8	18,3
Causes from the past, such as the kidnaping of the president's son, should be resolved.	35,2	23,4	14,9	16,8	9,7
Foreign investment is very important for the development of Slovakia.	45,0	33,1	8,8	3,0	10,0
The welfare system in Slovakia enables many people to not work and live at the expense of others.	53,1	29,2	7,0	4,3	6,5
The government should enact bold economic reforms, even if it means a temporary decline in the standard of living.	9,7	16,6	27,7	36,7	9,3

DATA ABOUT RESPONDENTS

SEX

Men	48,7
Women	51,3

AGE

18 – 24	16,1
25 – 34	19,9
35 – 44	20,1
45 – 54	17,0
55 – 60	6,0

60 and above	21,0
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EDUCATION

Basic	34,5
High school without graduation	30,6
High school graduate	27,1
University	7,7

ETHNICITY

Slovak	85,4
Hungarian	11,6
other	3,0

EMPLOYMENT

Unskilled manual labor	6,7
Skilled manual labor	19,9
White collar/administrative	14,1
White collar/executive	5,8
Director, entrepreneur	5,1
Retired	23,5
Student	6,0
Homemaker or on maternity leave	4,2
Unemployed	14,7
Other	0,1

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD

Young person	3,7
Young family	8,6
Ordinary family	21,5
Adult family	27,2
Three-generation family	10,3
Older family	9,7
Old person	16,1
Other	2,8

INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER

Up to 2 999 Sk	13,8
3 000 - 3 999 Sk	14,5
4 000 - 4 999 Sk	15,7
5 000 Sk and above	23,1
Refused	18,3
Don't know	14,6

SIZE OF COMMUNITY

Fewer than 2,000 residents	31,9
2,000 – 5,000	13,6
5,000 – 20,000	14,2
20,000 – 50,000	16,2
50,000 – 100,000	11,4
Bratislava, Kosice	12,7

REGION

Bratislavsky	11,3
Trnavsky	11,5
Trenciansky	10,7
Nitriansky	13,6
Zilinsky	13,2
Banskobystricky	13,0
Presovsky	13,3
Kosicky	13,4

Appendix Two

May 2000 Omnibus Poll

This public opinion poll was conducted by the FOCUS agency on behalf of the International Republican Institute. The poll was fielded from May 3 to 11, 2000, with a sample size of 1,097 respondents. The sample was chosen by the quota method, and is representative of the population as a whole with respect to age, sex, ethnicity, occupation, and level of education.

The poll is part of IRI's program in Slovakia to assist the government in improving communications with the public. IRI's activities in Slovakia are funded by the US Agency for International Development.

Poll Results

All information in tables is presented in percentages

Sample size: n = 1097

Data collected: May 3-11, 2000

Our society is facing many changes and problems. Please tell us what three problems, in your opinion, are currently the most important? (open question)

Unemployment	66.2
Standard of living	45.1
Crime	26.7
The economy	26.1
Health care	24.8
Political situation	21.3
Corruption	14.4
Education and schools	9.2
Housing	6.6
Personal relations, ethics in society	5.4
Problems of ethnic minorities	4.8
Drugs and alcohol	2.7
The environment	2.4
Legislation/rule of law	2.4
Economic crimes	2.3
Privatization	2.1
Other	1.3
Don't know/refused	1.5

In your opinion, is Slovakia currently heading in the right or wrong direction?

totally in the right direction	1.2
somewhat in the right direction	24.7
somewhat in the wrong direction	43.2
totally in the wrong direction	23.1
don't know	7.8

Please tell me to what degree you trust or mistrust the following institutions:

- 1 = totally trust
- 2 = somewhat trust
- 3 = somewhat mistrust
- 4 = totally mistrust
- 9 = don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
A. National Council (parliament)	2.2	28.9	42.0	19.9	7.0
B. Prime Minister	7.4	28.4	31.3	29.0	3.9
C. Constitutional Court	7.2	41.2	26.1	14.5	10.9
D. President	10.4	47.5	26.1	11.0	4.9
E. Government (cabinet)	4.0	30.0	34.6	27.7	3.7
F. European Union	14.6	38.0	19.2	15.8	12.4
G. NATO	11.0	26.2	23.3	25.2	14.3

And now, we're interested in your opinion on people in political life. Please tell us which politician in Slovakia you view *most* favorably. (Open question, only those with more than 1% of respondents are listed.)³

R. Fico	17.7
V. Meciar	14.5
M. Dzurinda	4.6
I. Miklos	4.5
R. Schuster	4.4
B. Bugar	4.3
E. Kukan	4.0
A. Malikova	2.8
P. Weiss	2.1
I. Gasparovic	1.5
P. Csaky	1.1
J. Carnogursky	1.0

³ Robert Fico is an independent member of parliament and chairman of SMER.
Vladimir Meciar is chairman of the HZDS and a former prime minister.
Mikulas Dzurinda is prime minister and chairman of the SDKU.
Ivan Miklos is deputy prime minister for economics and a member of the DS.
Rudolf Schuster is president of Slovakia.
Bela Bugar is a deputy chairman of parliament and chairman of the SMK.
Eduard Kukan is foreign minister and a member of the SDKU.
Anna Malikova is an MP and chairwoman of the SNS.
Peter Weiss is an member of parliament for the SDL.
Ivan Gasparovic is an MP for the HZDS.
Pal Csaky is deputy prime minister for human rights and a member of the SMK.
Jan Carnogursky is minister of justice and chairman of the KDH.
Jan Slota is an MP and former chairman of the SNS.
Ivan Mjartan is chairman of the Party of the Democratic Center (SDS).

J. Slota	1.0
I. Mjartan	1.0
No one	23.7
Don't know	4.8

And now, please tell us which politician in Slovakia you view *least* favorably.⁴
(Open question, only those with more than 1% of respondents are listed.)

V. Meciar	25.8
M. Dzurinda	23.2
J. Carnogursky	7.3
J. Migas	5.8
B. Bugar	2.8
B. Schmognerova	2.5
J. Slota	2.2
A. Malikova	2.0
J. Cuper	1.7
R.Fico	1.6
No one	7.4
Don't know	8.1

Imagine that parliamentary elections were being held this weekend and the following parties were running. Which party would you vote for?

	whole sample	decided voters
HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia)	19.7	27.4
SMER (Direction)	14.6	20.3
SDKU (Slovak Democratic and Christian Union)	8.5	11.8
SMK (Party of the Hungarian Coalition)	8.2	11.5
SNS (Slovak National Party)	5.0	7.0
SDL (Party of the Democratic Left)	3.6	5.0
KDH (Christian Democratic Movement)	2.6	3.6
SOP (Party of Civic Understanding)	2.4	3.3
KSS (Communist Party of Slovakia)	1.9	2.6
DS (Democratic Party)	1.8	2.5
DU (Democratic Union)	1.4	1.9

⁴ Vladimir Meciar is chairman of the HZDS and the former prime minister.

Mikulas Dzurinda is prime minister and chairman of the SDKU.

Jan Carnogursky is minister of justice and chairman of the KDH.

Jozef Migas is chairman of the parliament and of the SDL.

Bela Bugar is a deputy chairman of parliament and chairman of the SMK.

Brigita Schmognerova is minister of finance and a member of the SDL.

Jan Slota is an MP and former chairman of the SNS.

Anna Malikova is an MP and chairwoman of the SNS.

Jan Cuper is an MP for the HZDS.

Robert Fico is an independent member of parliament and chairman of SMER.

SZS (Green Party in Slovakia)	1.0	1.3
ZRS (Association of Slovak Workers)	0.6	0.9
SDSS (Social Democratic Party of Slovakia)	0.4	0.5
Other	0.2	0.4
Would not vote	13.6	
Refused	3.0	
Don't know	11.6	

Please tell me to what degree you support the following foreign policy goals for Slovakia:

- 1 = strongly support
- 2 = somewhat support
- 3 = somewhat oppose
- 4 = strongly oppose
- 9 = don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
A. Joining the European Union	30.8	33.6	14.9	10.9	9.8
B. Joining NATO	18.3	22.8	21.2	23.8	13.9

Please tell me to what degree you view the following political parties favorably or unfavorably:

- 1 = very favorably
- 2 = somewhat favorably
- 3 = somewhat unfavorably
- 4 = very unfavorably
- 5 = I know the party, but can't evaluate it
- 6 = I don't know the party at all
- 8 = refused

	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
DS – Democratic Party	3.4	20.8	25.4	11.7	27.1	8.8	2.9
DU – Democratic Union	1.9	22.5	26.0	14.0	23.0	9.6	3.1
HZDS – Movement for a Democratic Slovakia	17.1	16.2	21.0	37.9	4.2	0.7	2.8
KDH – Christian Democratic Movement	2.8	16.1	33.9	36.1	6.8	1.2	3.1
SDKU – Slovak Democratic and Christian Union	5.9	18.5	20.7	26.0	15.5	10.2	3.1
SNS – Slovak National Party	10.0	29.6	23.9	23.5	8.1	1.9	3.0
SMER – Direction	18.3	29.4	9.4	8.3	17.6	13.8	3.4
SDL – Party of the Democratic Left	3.7	29.6	34.2	18.2	10.0	1.7	2.6
SMK – Party of the Hungarian Coalition	7.9	17.4	20.3	39.7	9.3	2.1	3.2
SOP – Party of Civic Understanding	3.5	30.8	28.0	16.8	14.2	3.8	2.9

17. What grade do you give the current government coalition (SDK, SDL, SMK, SOP) overall? Please use the same scale used in school, from one to five.

1 (highest)	1.1
2	10.8
3	33.7
4	26.0

5 (lowest)	22.8
Don't know	5.4

And how do you grade the current opposition (HZDS, SNS) overall? Please use the same scale used in school, from one to five.

1 (highest)	5.7
2	16.0
3	23.1
4	24.5
5 (lowest)	23.5
Don't know	7.2

Recently, there's been a lot of talk about conflicts in the government coalition. Which of the government parties, in your opinion, bears the greatest responsibility for creating these conflicts? (Open question, respondents could name up to three answers.)⁵

SDL – Party of the Democratic Left	40.5
KDH – Christian Democratic Movement	20.6
SDK – Slovak Democratic Coalition	13.3
SMK – Party of the Hungarian Coalition	10.2
HZDS – Movement for a Democratic Slovakia	7.0
SDKU – Slovak Democratic and Christian Union	5.0
SOP – Party of Civic Understanding	2.2
SNS – Slovak National Party	1.7
DU – Democratic Union	1.5
DS – Democratic Party	1.1
SMER – Direction	0.2
Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda	0.7
HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar	0.2
SDL Chairman Jozef Migas	0.4
All	4.6
None, there are no serious conflicts	1.6
Don't know	23.3

Some politicians support calling early parliamentary elections, while others say that elections should be held at the regular time in 2002. Do you agree or disagree with the idea of calling early parliamentary elections?

Strongly agree with calling early parliamentary elections	16.4
Somewhat agree	16.2

⁵ Technically, four parties make up the Slovak government: the SDK, SDL, SMK, and SOP. The SDK is a coalition formed from five parties: the DS, DU, KDH, SDSS, and SZS. The SDKU is a new party formed by prime minister Dzurinda, which includes former members of the SDK, DS, DU, and KDH. The HZDS, SNS, and SMER are not part of the government coalition.

Somewhat disagree	20.2
Strongly disagree	39.4
Don't know	7.7

Last month, HZDS members of parliament proposed a motion of no confidence in Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda. If you were a member of parliament, how would you have cast your vote?

Would have voted <i>for</i> the motion of no confidence	35.1
Would have voted <i>against</i> the motion of no confidence	35.2
Would have abstained	18.0
Don't know	11.7

Among those voting for the motion of no confidence in Prime Minister Dzurinda was Jozef Migas, the chairman of the parliament. In your view, should Jozef Migas remain as chairman of the parliament or resign his post?

Jozef Migas should resign as chairman of parliament	38.7
Jozef Migas should not resign	39.6
Don't know	21.7

Recently, there's been a lot of discussion about the Eastern Slovak Steelworks (VSZ). In your opinion, what is the current economic situation of VSZ?

Very good	0.8
Somewhat good	14.5
Somewhat bad	36.2
Very bad	16.3
Don't know	32.2

The Slovak government has been meeting with the American steel company US Steel about the sale of Eastern Slovak Steelworks (VSZ). Have you heard about these meetings?

Yes	69.2
No	18.6
Don't know	12.2

If you were taking part in these meetings, would you favor or oppose the sale of VSZ to US Steel?

Strongly favor	10.3
Somewhat favor	20.6
Somewhat oppose	18.0
Strongly oppose	26.8
Don't know	24.4

People have various opinions about selling Slovak companies to foreign investors. In your view, what would foreign investment mean for VSZ? Please tell us if you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = somewhat agree
- 3 = somewhat disagree
- 4 = strongly disagree
- 9 = don't know

Foreign investment in VSZ would mean...

	1	2	3	4	9
A. increased foreign sales for VSZ products	21.8	39.4	14.2	5.4	19.2
B. saving jobs at VSZ	19.2	32.6	23.7	8.8	15.7
C. a bargain sale of Slovak property to foreigners	31.6	26.3	18.3	6.8	17.0
D. increased wages for VSZ employees	9.0	26.6	29.5	11.5	23.5
E. modernization of VSZ production	23.4	45.2	11.0	3.2	17.3
F. large numbers of lay-offs for VSZ employees	11.9	27.3	31.6	7.7	21.6
G. reduced output at VSZ due to competition	9.4	23.6	28.6	7.7	30.6
H. future doubts over job security at VSZ	14.9	31.1	25.8	5.9	22.4
I. overall improvement in the region of Eastern Slovakia	15.8	32.3	23.7	6.6	21.6
J. foreign investors will put their own interests ahead of the interests of Slovakia	36.7	29.2	11.2	2.1	20.9

In your opinion, in which areas of the Slovak economy should foreign investment be allowed? Which of the following companies should be privatized and which should not?

- 1 = definitely should be privatized
- 2 = probably should be privatized
- 3 = probably should not be privatized
- 4 = definitely should not be privatized
- 9 = don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
A. gas company	6.4	13.7	29.6	42.7	7.7
B. electric company	6.4	12.4	28.6	45.3	7.3
C. telephone company	11.5	22.4	23.3	35.1	7.7
D. banks and insurance companies	10.8	17.6	23.0	39.6	9.0

The Slovak government decided to allow the American military to utilize the Kuchyna air base for several weeks each year to train American military pilots. What is your opinion on this decision of the Slovak government – was it correct or incorrect?

1. definitely correct	12.8
2. somewhat correct	24.5
3. somewhat incorrect	21.5

4. definitely incorrect	22.4
9. don't know	18.8

The Slovak government recently adopted an anti-corruption program. Have you heard about this program?

1. yes	65.1
2. no	27.5
9. don't know, can't remember	7.4

In your opinion, will the government of Mikulas Dzurinda be able to reduce the level of corruption in Slovakia by the end of its term in office (by 2002)?

1. definitely yes	2.2
2. probably yes	10.6
3. probably no	36.1
4. definitely no	43.3
9. don't know	7.8

In your opinion, would the following measures help reduce corruption?

1 = would definitely help reduce corruption

2 = somewhat help

3 = wouldn't help much

4 = wouldn't help at all

9 = don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
A. making public the income and assets of government officials (members of the government, members of parliament, judges)	43.0	28.1	12.9	10.2	5.7
B. making public the income and assets of government officials' relatives	40.0	28.9	15.1	10.0	6.0
C. making public the sources of funding for political parties	48.6	26.6	10.6	7.7	6.6
D. adopting the law on citizens' free access to information on government (freedom of information act)	44.6	29.4	9.2	8.3	8.5

In your opinion, does Slovak Television (STV) provide favorable access to the following officials...

	Yes	No	Don't know
A. the Slovak government?	73.9	6.5	19.6
B. representatives of the governing coalition?	73.1	5.5	21.4
C. representatives of the opposition?	54.6	22.7	22.7
D. the president?	62.0	16.0	22.1

I'm now going to read you a list of names of some politicians. We're interested in knowing if you know them and to whether you trust or mistrust them: ⁶

- 1 = totally trust
- 2 = somewhat trust
- 3 = somewhat mistrust
- 4 = totally mistrust
- 5 = I know the person, but can't evaluate him/her
- 6 = I don't know the person at all
- 8 = refused

	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
A. Robert Fico	20.5	35.4	15.8	9.6	13.9	3.1	1.7
B. Vladimir Meciar	17.7	14.8	18.5	44.0	2.9	0.3	1.8
C. Rudolf Schuster	13.3	49.3	23.6	7.6	4.9	0.3	1.2
D. Mikulas Dzurinda	9.0	29.1	20.9	34.9	4.6	0.3	1.2
E. Anna Malikova	9.2	29.2	24.2	26.4	7.3	2.0	1.7
F. Eduard Kukan	12.7	28.9	21.3	15.2	14.4	5.8	1.7
G. Jozef Migas	2.2	18.4	33.3	30.9	10.7	2.7	1.7

Vladimir Meciar refused to accept a subpoena to give testimony in several criminal cases. Do you agree or disagree that investigators forced him to accept the subpoena?

1. strongly agree	45.0
2. somewhat agree	20.3
3. somewhat disagree	12.7
4. strongly disagree	14.7
9. don't know/refused	7.3

What is your opinion on the use of a special police unit to bring Vladimir Meciar in for questioning? Was this correct?

1. totally correct	29.8
2. somewhat correct	15.6
3. somewhat incorrect	17.8
4. totally incorrect	29.2
9. don't know/refused	7.5

⁶ Robert Fico is an independent member of parliament and chairman of SMER.
Vladimir Meciar is the former prime minister and chairman of the HZDS.
Rudolf Schuster is president of Slovakia.
Mikulas Dzurinda is prime minister and chairman of the SDKU.
Anna Malikova is an MP and chairwoman of the SNS.
Eduard Kukan is foreign minister and a member of the SDKU.
Jozef Migas is chairman of parliament and of the SDL.

Now, I'm going to read you two statements. Please tell me which of them is closer to your views:

Statement A: It should be taken into account that Vladimir Meciar is a former prime minister, and in his case, a different approach should be used in an investigation.

Statement B: Vladimir Meciar is a citizen like any other, and he should be dealt with like any other citizen in an investigation.

1. strongly agree with statement A	13.2
2. somewhat agree with statement A	13.6
3. somewhat agree with statement B	21.4
4. strongly agree with statement B	46.3
9. don't know	5.5

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ABOUT RESPONDENTS

SEX

Men	47.6
Women	52.4

AGE

18 – 24	16.6
25 – 34	19.1
35 – 44	20.6
45 – 54	16.9
55 – 59	6.2
60 and above	20.6

EDUCATION

Basic	34.7
Some high school	30.2
High school graduate	26.9
University	8.3

ETHNICITY

Slovak	85.7
Hungarian	10.6
Other	3.6

EMPLOYMENT

Unskilled manual labor	7.5
Skilled manual labor	19.1
White collar/administrative	13.9
White collar/executive	6.3
Director, entrepreneur	5.2
Retired	23.7
Student	7.4
Homemaker or on maternity leave	4.1
Unemployed	12.8
Other	-

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

1	9.5
2	22.1
3	19.4
4	28.0
5 or more	21.0

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD

Young people	3.0
Young family	7.6
Ordinary family	20.5
Family with adult children	31.1
Three generation family	11.3
Older family	9.5
Old people	16.1
Other	0.9

MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

0 – 3,000 Sk	14.1
3,000 – 3,999 Sk	13.7
4,000 – 4,999 Sk	16.6
5,000 Sk and above	22.4
Refused	17.9
Don't know	15.2

SIZE OF COMMUNITY

0 – 2,000 inhabitants	30.5
2,000 – 5,000	13.1
5,000 – 20,000	15.0
20,000 – 50,000	16.4
50,000 – 100,000	11.9
Bratislava and Kosice	13.1

REGION

Bratislava	11.7
Trnava	10.3
Trencin	11.3
Nitria	13.3
Zilina	12.6
Banska Bystrica	12.3
Presov	14.4
Kosice	14.1

Appendix Three

June 2000 Youth Poll

This public opinion poll was conducted by the FOCUS agency on behalf of the International Republican Institute. The poll was fielded in June 2000, with a sample size of 708 respondents aged 18-25. The sample was chosen by the quota method, and is representative of the youth population as a whole with respect to age, sex, ethnicity, occupation, and level of education.

The poll is part of IRI's program in Slovakia to assist the government in improving communications with the public. IRI's activities in Slovakia are funded by the US Agency for International Development.

YOUTH 2000
IRI Poll
June/July 2000

All data in tables is presented in percentages

1. Our society is going through many important changes. Please tell me, in your opinion, what three problems in our society are most important. (Open)

unemployment	69,5
Standard of living	34,3
Health care	32,5
Slovak economy	22,7
Crime	21,3
Corruption	17,1
Housing problems	15,5
Political situation	13,1
Education and schools	11,7
Drugs and alcohol	8,3
Problems of ethnic minorities	5,6
Human relations	5,4
Environment	1,8
Courts and legislation	1,3
Privatization	1,1
Economic crimes	1,1
Other	1,8
Don't know	1,1

2. Everyone has certain values. Please tell me, how important each of the following values is in your personal life. Use a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being very important and 5 being not at all important.

	1	2	3	4	5	9
Family and home	78,4	16,0	4,4	0,6	0,6	0,1
Having an exciting life	16,8	28,2	31,9	14,1	8,8	0,1
Freedom	44,8	32,3	16,8	4,1	1,8	0,1
Patriotism	15,3	22,9	34,6	14,1	9,9	3,2
Love	71,6	21,8	5,4	1,1	0,1	-
Money, wealth	33,3	40,0	20,6	4,1	1,8	0,1
Education,	41,5	34,6	18,2	3,7	1,7	0,3
Having a comfortable life	52,1	27,8	15,1	3,5	1,1	0,3
Position in society (status)	21,3	36,0	28,1	8,5	4,9	1,1
Physical condition	31,5	36,7	22,7	6,6	1,8	0,6
Health	87,3	10,5	1,7	0,1	0,4	-
Faith in God	25,8	18,4	24,2	10,5	17,9	3,2
Interesting work	50,7	36,7	9,3	1,8	1,3	0,1
Fun with friends	38,0	33,9	22,7	4,1	1,0	0,3
Friendship	60,6	31,6	6,2	1,0	0,3	0,3
Having (one's own) home	66,1	20,9	9,2	2,0	1,1	0,7

3. Young people spend their free time in various ways. I'm going to read you a list of activities, and for each, please tell me if this is a typical way you spend your time.

	typical	not typical
meeting with friends	87,4	12,6
listening to music	84,9	15,1
watching television	71,8	28,2
spending time with a partner, going out/dating	68,2	31,8
sport, exercise	58,1	41,9
reading	39,7	60,3
going to bars, cafes, discos	49,6	50,4
going to the cinema, theatre, concerts	38,4	61,6
politics and public affairs	25,3	74,7
taking care of family or children	43,6	56,4
continuing (outside) education	29,8	70,2
working outside one's normal job, moonlighting	37,1	62,9
hanging out, doing nothing	43,5	56,5
volunteerism, working for charities or NGOs	9,0	91,0
travel	24,3	75,7

4. Think about the most serious problems facing young people in our society. Which three problems of young people in Slovakia should be solved first? (Open)

Unemployment	78,2
Housing problems	53,0
Standard of living	29,5
Drugs and alcohol	20,3
Education and schools	13,0
Environment	8,1
Activities for youth	6,6
Crime	6,4
Slovak economy	4,8
Human relations	3,5
Loans for young people	3,2
Health care	2,8
Corruption	2,4
Political situation	2,0
Problems of ethnic minorities	1,1
Privatization	0,3
Courts and legislation	0,3
Other (sex, AIDS, birth control, military service ...)	2,3
Don't know	1,0

5. Newspapers, television, and radio often discuss popular people in culture, music, and other areas. Please tell me the name of the one public figure you most admire. (Open)
Only responses with 1% or more of responses are listed.

Jozef Raz	4,2
Jana Kirschnerova	4,0
Pavol Habera	2,5
Jozef Procko	2,4
Miroslav Satan	2,0
Peter Dvorsky	1,7
Robert Fico	1,7
Rudolf Schuster	1,6
Stefan Skrucany	1,4
Bela Bugar	1,1
Miroslav Noga	1,0
No one	15,5
Don't know	18,5

6. Are you interested in what's happening in politics?

Definitely yes	8,1
Mostly yes	29,2
Mostly no	45,2
Definitely no	16,9
Don't know	0,6

7. Where do you get most of your information about politics? (Please choose two responses.)

Newspapers	34,2
Radio TWIST	4,2
FUN Radio	7,3
Slovak Radio	7,6
Slovak Television	12,1
TV Markiza	59,0
Speaking with family and relatives	14,1
Speaking with friends	11,4
At school or at work	4,4
Other (Czech, Hungarian TV, etc.)	3,1
Nowhere, not interested in politics	13,6
Don't know	0,1

8. In your opinion, since the parliamentary elections in September 1998, Slovakia is heading in...

totally in the right direction	1,3
mostly in the right direction	25,1
mostly in the wrong direction	38,4
totally in the wrong direction	16,7
don't know	18,5

9. Imagine that parliamentary elections were being held this weekend. If the following parties were running, which would you vote for?

DS (Democratic Party)	1,7
DU (Democratic Union)	0,4
HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia)	9,9
KDH (Christian Democratic Movement)	1,7
KSS (Communist Party of Slovakia)	0,6
SDKU (Slovak Democratic and Christian Union)	6,8
SNS (Slovak National Party)	6,6
SMER (Direction)	18,6
SDSS (Social Democratic Party of Slovakia)	-
SDL (Party of the Democratic Left)	2,3
SDS (Party of the Democratic Center)	0,7
SMK (Party of the Hungarian Coalition)	5,6
SOP (Party of Civic Understanding)	2,4
SZS (Green Party in Slovakia)	1,1
ZRS (Association of Slovak Workers)	0,8
Other party	0,6
Would not vote	12,7
Refused	3,7
Don't know	23,7

10. And now, we're interested in your opinion on people in political life. Please tell me the name of the one politician you view most favorably (most admire). Please give me only one name. (Open) Only responses with 1% or more are listed.

Robert Fico	18,4
Vladimir Meciar	7,1
Anna Malikova	6,5
Rudolf Schuster	6,4
Mikulas Dzurinda	5,2
Bela Bugar	3,7
Ivan Miklos	3,7
Jan Slota	1,7
Ivan Mjartan	1,7

Eduard Kukan	1,6
Peter Weiss	1,0
No one	24,9
Don't know	10,8

11. And now the reverse, which politician do you view least favorably? Please give me only one name. (Open) Only responses with 1% or more are listed.

Vladimir Meciar	26,1
Mikulas Dzurinda	17,5
Brigita Schmognerova	4,8
Jozef Migas	4,1
Bela Bugar	3,8
Jan Carnogursky	3,5
Anna Malikova	2,7
Jan Slota	2,1
Milan Knazko	1,4
Jan Cuper	1,3
No one	9,0
Don't know	14,1

12. I'm going to read you the names of some politicians. Please tell me whether you view them favorably or unfavorably, using the following scale:

1= very favorable

2= somewhat/mostly favorable

3= somewhat/mostly unfavorable

4= very unfavorable

5= know the person, but have no opinion

6= don't know the person at all

8= refused

	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
A. Lubomir Andrassy	2,7	23,7	16,7	6,9	15,7	28,4	5,9
B. Jan Budaj	0,8	17,7	24,7	15,8	18,2	17,2	5,5
C. Bela Bugar	8,5	21,2	20,2	30,6	10,5	3,4	5,6
D. Jan Carnogursky	1,1	6,6	31,1	41,2	12,0	3,4	4,5
E. Mikulas Dzurinda	8,2	24,4	24,7	31,5	6,5	0,4	4,2
F. Robert Fico	24,2	34,2	12,6	8,3	12,3	4,0	4,5
G. Jan Figel	3,7	15,5	12,6	4,5	19,9	38,7	5,1
H. Milan Ftacnik	2,0	23,9	26,7	8,5	18,6	14,8	5,5
I. Pavol HamZik	2,1	19,6	22,7	9,5	21,8	18,4	5,9
J. Pavol Hrusovsky	2,5	14,3	13,7	5,9	18,8	39,0	5,8
K. Pavol Kanis	2,3	19,5	26,6	12,7	20,3	13,0	5,6
L. Eduard Kukan	8,1	28,2	21,0	11,7	14,4	11,4	5,1
M. Jan Langos	1,0	8,1	19,4	21,8	17,2	27,3	5,4
N. Anna Malikova	13,8	24,3	18,5	25,0	8,5	5,5	4,4
O. Vladimir Meciar	11,3	13,0	17,2	47,6	5,4	0,3	5,2

P. Jozef Migas	2,8	13,1	29,0	34,2	10,5	5,6	4,8
R. Ivan Miklos	8,5	23,6	21,6	13,0	15,8	12,4	5,1
S. Vladimir Palko	1,0	9,5	15,3	13,6	17,9	36,6	6,2
T. Brigita Schmognerova	2,7	17,1	26,7	36,7	9,3	2,5	4,9
U. Rudolf Schuster	27,1	44,9	13,7	3,8	5,5	0,1	4,8

13. Please tell me to what degree you trust or mistrust the following institutions:

1= totally trust

2= somewhat trust

3= somewhat mistrust

4= totally mistrust

9= don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
A. National Council of the Slovak Republic (parliament)	2,3	30,4	41,9	11,9	13,6
B. Government of the Slovak Republic	3,1	30,2	37,0	20,8	8,9
C. President of the Slovak Republic	22,0	53,2	12,4	4,7	7,6
D. Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic	6,5	29,5	28,0	26,0	10,0
E. Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic	7,1	34,3	26,3	12,3	20,1

15. How satisfied are you today with the way you voted in 1998?

very satisfied	6,6
somewhat/mostly satisfied	20,2
somewhat/mostly dissatisfied	19,4
very dissatisfied	5,9
don't know/can't say	6,5
Doesn't apply (didn't vote, not then eligible to vote)	41,4

16. Please tell me to what degree you agree or disagree with the following opinions or statements:

- 1= totally agree
 2= mostly agree
 3= mostly disagree
 4= totally disagree
 9= don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
A. I'm more afraid today that I'll become a victim of crime	28,4	40,0	19,1	7,3	5,2
B. Our family must work harder than ever before, just to live from paycheck to paycheck.	48,0	34,3	11,2	2,3	4,2
C. Our schools are getting worse.	46,8	31,8	9,3	1,0	11,2
D. I'm proud to be a citizen of the Slovak Republic.	26,8	34,5	20,3	9,9	8,5
E. I feel that my job is less secure than in the past.	27,7	21,3	9,6	6,6	34,7
F. Soft drugs should be legalized.	5,4	11,2	16,7	56,5	10,3
G. Politics is a dirty business.	43,1	33,5	10,0	3,7	9,7
H. Drugs are a problem in my area.	9,5	22,0	31,9	21,2	15,4
I. I worry that pollution can affect my family's health.	24,0	41,8	18,1	4,1	12,0
J. People like me have no influence on the direction of society.	42,1	35,0	15,5	3,7	3,7
K. The church interferes too much in day-to-day life.	13,7	21,3	30,9	15,4	18,6
L. You can't trust people over 35.	1,0	6,2	33,2	45,2	14,4
M. I have no future in this country.	18,4	32,9	29,1	9,2	10,5
N. The older generation ruined this country.	9,3	18,2	29,9	27,8	14,7
O. It doesn't matter who's in power, because all politicians are corrupt.	32,9	37,0	15,5	4,4	10,2
P. Basic military service should be abolished.	31,5	19,8	20,9	14,7	13,1
R. The death penalty should be reinstated.	34,3	26,3	10,7	13,8	14,8
S. Men who do basic military service instead of alternative service are greater patriots.	8,5	12,3	26,0	30,4	22,9
T. Everyone should be responsible for his own job and standard of living.	20,8	38,1	23,9	11,3	5,9
U. Skinheads have a just cause.	4,9	10,9	20,3	49,2	14,7
V. Politicians only argue and they don't solve the problems of people like me.	54,8	32,1	8,3	1,1	3,7
X. A good politician should above all be able to solve people's problems.	73,6	22,5	1,1	0,1	2,7

Y. A good politician should above all be a moral authority.	64,3	28,7	2,3	0,6	4,2
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17. To what degree do you agree or disagree with Slovak membership in:

- 1= totally agree
 2= mostly agree
 3= mostly disagree
 4= totally disagree
 9= don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
European Union	43,6	32,9	8,3	3,7	11,4
NATO	20,2	26,8	19,4	19,1	14,5

18. Now, please think about the policies of the current government of Mikulas Dzurinda, which has been in office since 1998. In your opinion, which of the following has the government been able to achieve:

- 1= definitely yes
 2= mostly yes
 3= mostly no
 4= definitely no
 9= don't know

	1	2	3	4	9
A. Improved the international position of Slovakia?	22,9	37,6	19,1	10,0	10,5
B. Expanded construction of homes?	0,4	8,5	36,6	45,5	9,0
C. Stimulate the economy?	2,0	16,9	35,7	36,4	8,9
D. Strengthen democracy and the rule of law?	3,4	28,0	30,4	25,3	13,0
E. Reduce crime?	0,6	10,0	36,0	43,8	9,6
F. Create jobs for young people?	0,3	2,8	28,0	65,0	3,1

19. In your opinion, which of the following parties want to solve the problems of young people like you. Please respond for each party.

- 1= want to solve young people's problems
 2= don't want to solve young people's problems
 9= don't know/can't say

	1	2	9
HZDS	23,7	41,8	34,5
SNS	25,4	38,6	36,0
SMER	42,2	15,7	42,1
SDKU	24,6	35,0	40,4
SDL	28,2	30,6	41,1

20. And do you think that these parties work for Slovak integration into the EU and NATO? Please tell me for each of these parties:

1= works for Slovak integration into the EU and NATO

2= doesn't work for Slovak integration into the EU and NATO

9= don't know/can't say

	1	2	9
HZDS	24,7	44,9	30,4
SNS	16,1	50,4	33,5
SMER	43,4	8,6	48,0
SDKU	64,1	5,1	30,8
SDL	54,8	8,8	36,4

21. And do you think that these parties are able to solve the problems of ordinary people? Please respond for each party.

1= Yes, able to solve ordinary people's problems

2= No, not able to solve ordinary people's problems

9= don't know/can't say

	1	2	9
HZDS	23,2	53,4	23,4
SNS	22,3	49,7	28,0
SMER	33,3	26,1	40,5
SDKU	21,3	46,0	32,6
SDL	25,1	43,1	31,8

22. And do you think these parties defend the interests of Slovaks? Please respond for each party.

1= Yes, they defend the interests of Slovaks

2= No, they don't defend the interests of Slovaks

9= don't know/can't say

	1	2	9
HZDS	41,2	32,5	26,3
SNS	55,8	20,9	23,3
SMER	42,1	13,0	44,9
SDKU	32,5	31,2	36,3
SDL	33,9	27,7	38,4

23. And do you think these parties are working for economic reforms?

- 1= Yes, working for economic reforms
 2= No, not working for economic reforms
 9= don't know/can't say

	1	2	9
HZDS	27,8	39,5	32,6
SNS	26,3	37,0	36,7
SMER	39,8	12,7	47,5
SDKU	45,5	21,0	33,5
SDL	38,0	25,3	36,7

24. Which of the following do you use in your everyday life?

	use	don't use
A. Mobile telephone	36,2	63,8
B. Cable television	43,4	56,6
C. Teletext	52,7	47,3
D. Debit or credit card	43,5	56,5
E. Personal Computer	29,5	70,5
F. Internet	12,6	87,4
G. E-mail	12,4	87,6

25. Can you speak English, German, or another western language?

No	43,2
Yes, one language	44,4
Yes, several languages	11,3
Refused	1,1

26. During the past five years, have you spent at least one week in a developed, western country?

no	60,6
yes, once	23,0
yes, more than once	16,0
don't know/refused	0,4

27. And now, we want to talk a bit about the media. Please tell me what newspaper you read most frequently. Please give me three titles at most.

Novy cas	60,0
Pravda	15,7
Praca	7,3
Sme	19,8
Slovenska Republika	3,7
Uj Szo	5,1
Narodna Obroda	7,8
Novy den	3,0
Hospodarske noviny	5,9
Sport-Nike	18,5
Other	2,8
None	17,5
Don't know	0,3

28. Which best describes your religious beliefs?

deeply religious	11,2
religious, a believer	47,2
undecided, agnostic	13,3
not religious	20,1
atheist	7,3
don't know/refused	1,0

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ABOUT RESPONDENTS

SEX

Male	51,7
Female	48,3

AGE

18 – 21	52,7
22 – 25	47,3

EDUCATION

Basic	11,0
Some high school	42,8
High school graduate	42,2
University	4,0

ETHNICITY

Slovak	86,0
Hungarian	10,5
Ukrainian, Ruthenian	0,8
Other	2,7

EMPLOYMENT

Unskilled manual labor	4,1
Skilled manual labor	22,2
Expert labor	11,0
Creative labor	3,1
Entrepreneur, self-employed	2,0
Student	19,5
Homemaker or on maternity leave	6,6
Unemployed	30,9
other	0,6

TYPE OF SCHOOL

Vocational school without certificate	0,3
Vocational school with certificate	1,3
Middle technical school with certificate	3,2
Gymnasium	2,0
Higher technical school	2,1
University (technical)	3,4
University (science or medicine)	1,7
University (business or economics)	2,7
Univeristy (liberal or fine arts)	1,8
Other	1,0
Doesn't apply	80,5

LOCATION OF SCHOOL

Where you permanently reside	5,5
Elsewhere	14,0
Doesn't apply	80,5

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD (PERMANENT RESIDENCE)

1	1,1
2	5,5
3	23,4
4	35,9
5 or more	34,0

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD (PERMANENT RESIDENCE)

Young people	4,0
Young family	10,3
Ordinary family	14,5
Adult family	57,6
Three generation family	12,9
Other	0,7

HOW SATISFIED ARE YOU WITH YOUR HOUSING SITUATION (IN YOUR PERMANENT RESIDENCE)?

Very satisfied	14,0
Mostly/somewhat satisfied	40,3
Mostly/somewhat dissatisfied	26,8
Very dissatisfied	17,4
Don't know	1,6

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST DESCRIBES THE CURRENT FINANCIAL SITUATION OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD?

We're in debt	9,9
We must spend our savings	12,7
We get by from paycheck to paycheck	45,8
We are able to save some	24,2
We are able to save a lot	1,8
Don't know	5,6

SIZE OF COMMUNITY

2,000 or fewer	31,6
2,000-5,000	14,7
5,000-20,000	14,4
20,000-50,000	17,8
50,000-100,000	9,6
Bratislava & Kosice	11,9

REGION

Bratislava	10,5
Trnava	10,2
Trencin	12,4
Nitra	14,4
Zilina	12,3
Banska Bystrica	11,6
Presov	13,6
Kosice	15,1